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to speak of the "auditor-general of the colonies" (pp. 38, 39 n. 1, 49, 68); there was an auditor-general of royal revenues in America. Surveyors-general of the customs service were not "first appointed about 1690" (p. 34). In 1685 Patrick Mein held the post of "surveyor of his Majesties plantations in America," although the office does not become of great importance until the appointment of the loyal Edward Randolph in 1691. The surveyor-generalship was divided into two districts in 1709 and not in 1690 as implied (p. 34). Comptrollers of the customs were not "instituted near the close of the colonial period" (p. 32). Philip Lightfoot was appointed comptroller and surveyor for Virginia in 1676 (*Calendar of the treasury books*, 1676-1679, p. 346), and comptrollers for other colonies were appointed in 1696. The penny-a-pound export duty levied on tobacco by the act of parliament of 1673 was not restricted solely to intercolonial trade as implied (p. 26), but under certain conditions was payable when the commodity was carried to England (*Calendar of state papers*, colonial series, 1675-1676, par. 814). The statement that royal customs collectors received from the English exchequer yearly salaries ranging from £40 to £100 (p. 26) should be qualified by the fact that out of this sum each was required to defray the expense of hiring boats and boatmen.

W. T. ROOT

Studies in southern history and politics. Inscribed to William Archibald Dunning, Ph. D., LL. D., Lieber professor of history and political philosophy, Columbia university, by his former pupils the authors. (New York: Columbia university press, 1914. 394 p. \$2.50 net)

This volume is one of especial interest in the historiographical field as evidence of the rise of a new "southern school of historians." For a large majority of the essays included are the products of historical students of southern birth and breeding. It is a matter of no slight importance that as toilers for the doctorate these representatives of the new south have migrated northward to the class room of a northern guide and philosopher to receive words of wisdom and inspiration. After a perusal of this volume there can be no doubt that they have kept their minds open to the teaching of a sane and scientific brand of history and with their master have rejected rampant sectional prejudice for a broad-minded tolerance, a temperate sympathy, and a critical understanding. The shortcomings that suggest themselves to the critic are those that inevitably occur in the preparation of a group of papers of this type on relatively short notice, since in many instances the opportunities of getting at fresh material on new topics are too limited. All in all, how-

ever, this collection of essays constitutes a significant contribution in the field of southern and southwestern history.

The first paper is entitled "Deportation and colonization, an attempted solution of the race problem," by Walter L. Fleming. After noting the work of the American colonization society and the difficulties which it experienced, an analysis is made of Lincoln's persistent efforts, aided by moderate republicans, to secure an arrangement for the deportation and colonization of the freed negroes. The problem involved financial appropriations that seemed too formidable when added to the running expenses of the civil war; there was the further difficulty of making arrangements with reliable and responsible contractors, illustrated by the failure of the Isle à Vache experiment. These experiences suggested the importance of direct activity by the federal government itself, possibly the use of the vessels of the United States navy to deport the negroes. Mr. Fleming leaves this topic as an open question, of vital importance perhaps to the nation today.

Ulrich B. Phillips in "The literary movement for secession" traces the "southern movement" in a sense somewhat different from the usual, — that is, as a non-political movement. The purpose of the essay is to show that there was a widespread desire — illustrated in the popular literature of the south — for southern national independence. The basis for this desire was a consciousness of the sectional unity of the south, of the prevalence there of a distinct civilization. The substance of this movement was voiced in a pamphlet entitled, "The south alone should govern the south, and African slavery should be controlled by those only who are friendly to it." Mr. Phillips chooses to set this up as "the law and the gospel" among the whole generation of antebellum southerners, — as the fundamental factor in the secession movement. There follows an article by Charles W. Ramsdell entitled "The frontier and secession." This is a careful study of the local political situation in Texas on the eve of the civil war. It shows that an inadequate solution of frontier problems was an important factor in causing northwestern Texas to cast its lot in for secession, though in no sense identified in its interests with the slave plantation system of the cotton planting area. The incentive in that region was not so much protection for the institution of negro slavery as self-protection against Indian raids and, to a slight extent only, against the alleged efforts of the abolitionists to replace the population of northwestern Texas with anti-slavery men.

Milledge L. Bonham in "The French consuls in the Confederate States" suggests a political significance in many of the activities of these foreign representatives who were ready to make their own application of international law to the problems that developed. In their occasional

departures from the strict law of neutrality, the French consuls were in general partial to the south. In some instances they allowed the enlistment of their countrymen in southern forces and at times even connived at attempted evasions of the blockade. Sidney D. Brummer's paper on "The judicial interpretation of the confederate constitution" follows next. The basic law of the new confederacy provided for a judicial system like that of the United States with a supreme court to be established by legislative act. Past experience under the federal supreme court and a desire to protect state rights explain the failure of all attempts to create such a tribunal. As a result, the state supreme courts assumed a prominent rôle in this field of judicial interpretation; there was, moreover, no supreme judge and no formal basis for a uniform body of constitutional law. The uniformity that showed itself is to be explained by the spirit of coöperation that southerners displayed in the common cause and by the marked tendency of all southern courts to develop the constitutional law for the confederacy from that of the United States.

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton in "Southern legislation in respect to freedmen, 1865-1866" undertakes to analyze and give a scientific interpretation of the so-called "black codes" of the southern states. He suggests that the southern people, strangely lacking in self-consciousness in respect to the whole question of the negro, sought to satisfy the immediate and practical exigencies of the situation in a spirit of justice if not of generosity. The "black codes" should not be judged by the more harsh features of certain Mississippi and South Carolina statutes; these should be put into the balance with the very mild codes of Virginia and North Carolina and with the absence of any legal discrimination against the negro in Tennessee and Arkansas. Taken in the mass, the codes seem "reasonable, temperate, and kindly" and, in the main, necessary.

"Carpetbaggers in the United States senate," by Miss C. Mildred Thompson, estimates the part played by these senators in legislation of national interest as of little importance, inasmuch as they merely swelled the numbers of the already dominant republican majority in the senate. More important, however, was the carpet-baggers' struggle for a full share in the spoils of office, and in the special favors and concessions at the disposal of congress. In the absence of any effective rebuke, perhaps even encouraged by the administration, they seem to have contributed to the growth of corrupt practices. E. C. Woolley in "Grant's southern policy" analyzes the reconstruction policy of Grant's two administrations; although it was conceived in a sincere desire to do full justice to the south, it resulted in an objectionably large amount of federal interference in that region. A paper on "The federal enforce-

ment acts," by W. W. Davis, discusses the policy behind the enforcement acts, the alignment in congress on their passage, their scope, and their administration. These laws succeeded in enabling southern republicans to extend their period of control for a few years but failed to maintain the negro on the plane of political equality intended for him by the northern radicals. With a dawning consciousness in the north of the real conditions in the south, these acts became out of joint with the times. W. Roy Smith's essay on "Negro suffrage in the south," might, perhaps, more properly be called a study of restrictions on negro suffrage. For, while dividing the history of negro suffrage in the United States into four periods, the earlier periods are passed over very briefly and most of the article is given up to a consideration of the expedients for legal disfranchisement that have operated in the southern states since 1890.

William K. Boyd's "Some phases of educational history in the south since 1865" is a suggestive treatment of the rise of the public school system in the south, of developments in the field of higher education, and in the education of the negro. It is permeated by a tone of glowing optimism which suggests that a realization of what has already been accomplished despite all obstacles may serve as a clue to what may properly be expected of the future. The author's assumption is that "educational history in the South since the war is the biography of a new social consciousness." Mr. Holland Thompson contributes an interesting and ambitious paper on "The new south, economic and social." With all its keenness of analysis, however, one is not always sure that his results escape the criticism that the author applies to most writing in this field, namely, that it is too full of generalizations on "the South as if it were one country." This inconsistency is reflected in his initial assumption that "the South has begun to criticize herself and even to ridicule her short comings" (p. 293).

Mr. Charles E. Merriam, in "The political philosophy of John C. Calhoun," makes no attempt to present material that is new; he rather aims to call attention to the larger theoretical considerations that are back of Calhoun's practical doctrines. He suggests that Calhoun, in working out his practical remedies, forsook traditional American political doctrine and sought connections with more fundamental and universal expressions of political philosophy. This is illustrated by his abandonment of the favorite American "social contract" theory in order to find ground for his "concurrent majority" doctrine; by his attack on the theory that "all men are created equal" in order to justify slavery on the Aristotelian principle of natural and necessary inequality of individuals and races; and by his denial of the divisibility of sovereignty in order to secure a basis for the doctrine of the right of seces-

sion. "Southern political theories" are further considered in an essay by Mr. David Y. Thomas. A starting point is made with Jefferson's well known theories; there follows a search for motivating principles in the political practices of the southern states especially in the antebellum period. Apparently in view of the preceding paper no attempt is made at an analysis of Calhoun's position. The material is not always well ordered, doubtless because the author attempted to cover so large a field.

The volume closes with a paper by James W. Garner entitled "Southern politics since the civil war." This calls attention to the prevailing solidarity of the south as evidence of the failure of that region to make progress along political lines comparable with its recent social and economic development. This solidarity is artificial—it did not exist before 1861 and is not logical today. This fact, Mr. Garner holds, explains the absence of great political leaders in the south as well as the lack of real issues and of sound discussion in political campaigns. The idea is already gaining headway that these disadvantages may be avoided by the rise of a strong political party to challenge democratic control over the solid south.

ARTHUR C. COLE

The facts of reconstruction. By John R. Lynch, formerly member of congress from Mississippi, formerly temporary chairman of the republican national convention of 1884, formerly fourth auditor of the United States treasury. (New York: Neale publishing company, 1914. 325 p. \$1.50 net)

The author of this book is a Mississippi negro who occupied a prominent place in the politics of the republican party during the reconstruction period. He was a member of the state legislature, speaker of the house of representatives of the famous "shoe string" district. The late Senator Hoar says in his autobiography that Lynch was probably the ablest of the negroes who served with him as a member of the national house. He defeated Powell Clayton of Arkansas for the temporary chairmanship of the national republican convention of 1884, the circumstances of which are fully narrated in his book. He was subsequently fourth auditor of the United States treasury, but was removed by President Cleveland because, he alleges, he refused to give a promise to support the democratic administration.

The book, of course, attempts to justify the policy of the reconstructionists in general, and it contains a defense of the republican administrations of Ames and Alcorn in Mississippi. There is, however, no evidence of bitterness or vindictiveness; and, on the whole, the book is a fair and temperate presentation of the case of the reconstructionists. Being a native born instead of a carpet-bagger and less radical than some